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ABSTRACT

This document offers a selected review of literature relevant to retraining displaced workers. A description of the economic conditions leading to the displacement of workers, the nature and scope of the displaced worker problem, and factors potentially affecting displaced workers' participation in adult education and training programs is presented. These factors are categorized into four areas: the psychological impact of involuntary job loss, career development issues, the motivational basis for participation in adult education and training programs, and the logistical factors concerning the reemployment and retraining of displaced workers. Some of the factors favorable toward dislocated workers' participation in retraining include the following: (1) ability to work through psychological stages of job loss; (2) higher self-esteem; (3) encouragement from family and counselors; (4) a future orientation; (5) having an understanding of the reason for job loss; (6) having a high internal motivation for career change; (7) being in the "late establishment" stage of career development; (8) having career aspirations; (9) awareness of the process of career planning; (10) having a high value placed on education by family of origin; (11) success in previous educational activities; (12) participation in previous adult education; (13) additional sources of family income; (14) having lower-level skills; (15) having information about training sources; and (16) being a younger and less educated worker. Thirty-three references are included. (KC)

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FACTORS AFFECTING PARTICIPATION OF DISPLACED WORKERS IN RETRAINING: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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FACTORS AFFECTING PARTICIPATION OF DISPLACED WORKERS IN RETRAINING: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Displaced workers remain an important problem in our society. Mass lay-offs resulting from large plant closings are just one aspect of the scope of the problem. The trickle-down effect that continues is more serious because it does not receive the press and resulting federal, state, and local attention of major plant closings. As a result there are many workers who experience the economic, psychological, and personal anguish which results from involuntary job termination but do not receive the support needed to grow from the experience.

This paper contains a selected review of literature relevant to retraining displaced workers. As Gordus (1986) noted, the displaced worker problem requires an interdisciplinary approach. In the first portion of this paper, some of the economic conditions leading to the displacement of workers is reviewed. Second, the nature and scope of the displaced worker problem is explored. Third, factors potentially affecting displaced workers' participation in adult education and training programs are reviewed. These factors are categorized into four areas: the psychological impact of involuntary job loss, career development issues, the motivational basis for participation in adult education and training programs, and the logistical

factors concerning the reemployment and retraining of displaced workers. Fourth, the factors potentially affecting participation in adult education and training programs by displaced workers are summarized.

Economic Conditions Causing Worker Displacement

Many social, political, and economic factors contribute to the conditions that lead to plant closings and mass layoffs. Bendick (1982) cited four primary causes of worker displacement: changing production technology, changing import competition, changing consumer demands, and a changing industry mix. Zahniser and Ashley (1984) also noted several causes of worker displacement, one of the most important is the shift to a post industrial economy. In addition, they cited changes in consumer preferences, advances in technology, and increased international competition as causing significant declines in some major American industries. Regional shifts in industries have created displaced workers in the northeast and the midwest. Labor intensive and low skill industries have tended to move to developing nations with low-wage labor forces. The result has been that displaced workers have been faced with a job market demanding a different mix of skills, offering jobs in different regions of the country, and/or offering jobs with lower wages than they were able to earn previously.

Displaced Workers: Nature and Scope of the Problem

Unemployment has been a persistent problem in the United States. Despite much attention in the press, many research studies, and billions of dollars spent on federal, state, local, and private sector programs, the problems of unemployment continue.

The magnitude of the problem created by displaced workers varies according to one's perspective. From a national point of view, Bendick and Devine (1981) stated that their largest estimate of displaced workers, 895,000, places the number of displaced workers at 1% of the labor force and 14% of the unemployed. Barth and Reisner (1981) noted that while the "problem appears not to be a national crisis, it is a critical issues for affected communities" (p. 6).

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) (1984) defined a displaced worker as "one who had worked at least three years in a job and lost that job because of a plant closing, moving of a plant or company, slack work, or the abolishment of a position or shift" (p. 1). The BLS survey indicated that about 5.1 million workers were displaced between January 1979 and January 1984. It was indicated in the survey that 60% of the 5.1 million displaced workers were reemployed at the time of the survey; 25% were unemployed; and the remainder, 15%, had left the labor force. Of those

who were reemployed, 55% reported earnings that were equal to or higher than their previous earnings while 45% reported lower earnings.

Older workers in the BLS study were less likely to be reemployed than the younger workers. At the time of the survey only 41% of those 55 to 64 years of age were reemployed while 70% of the 20 to 40 age group were reemployed. Minorities also had higher unemployment rates. Forty-one percent of the blacks and 34% of the Hispanics in the sample were unemployed while only 25% of the Whites were unemployed.

Sheingold (1982) estimated that there were between 100,000 and 150,000 displaced workers in 1983. This number is based on a conservative definition of displaced workers: people out of work 26 weeks or longer and displaced by structural changes in the economy. Most of these workers were previously employed in blue-collar occupations and lived in the northeast and midwest sections of the country. Sheingold also estimated the number of displaced workers using a more liberal definition of displaced workers: all workers unemployed in geographic areas where industry is declining. This definition resulted in an estimate of 1.7 million to 2.1 million displaced workers.

Bendick and Devine (1981) used three indices of structural economic change to define and count displaced workers. They defined a displaced worker as an adult who is

able to work and has been unemployed more than 8 weeks. They specified three further criteria: a) laid off from an industry experiencing nationwide long-term decline, and/or b) laid off from an occupation experiencing nationwide long-term decline, and/or c) lived in an area with high unemployment or long term population loss. The declining industry criteria resulted in an estimate of 412,000 displaced workers. The declining occupation criteria yielded a figure of 642,000 displaced workers. The declining region criteria resulted in a number 895,000 displaced workers. All of these estimates were made for March, 1980.

Clark and Nelson (1983) used the following definition of displaced workers: "persons with considerable labor market experience who have been laid off and are unlikely to return to the same company within a period of 6 months" (p. 3). Based on Congressional Budget Office reports, they estimated the number of displaced workers at 1.8 million as of 1982 with another 760,000 workers to be displaced in 1983.

While different definitions of displaced workers are used in various studies, there are some common threads in the definitions. According to Barth and Reisner (1981), displaced workers are generally male, older, less well educated, union members, with some seniority on the job, and earning above average wages. According to Bendick and

Devine (1981), "most dislocated workers are semi-skilled machine operatives formerly employed in manufacturing industries in the nation's 'frostbelt' region" (p. 178).

These definitions and statistics give an idea of who and how many people are affected by unemployment, but not the degree of hardship experienced by displaced workers. Many studies of the unemployed have pointed out that financial hardship is the primary problem faced by the unemployed and their families (Clark & Nelson, 1983; Swineburne, 1981; and Zahniser, Ashley, & Inks, 1985). Many other problems are experienced by the unemployed as well. Ferman and Gardner (1979) developed a model that traces the effects of large scale economic changes to their ultimate effect on individuals. The model has five stages: a) aggregate economic changes which cause b) bumping and skidding labor market patterns which affect c) workers' career patterns which promote d) a degree of economic deprivation for some workers which affects e) the mental and physical health of the individuals.

The research of Brenner (1971) clearly demonstrated that individuals do suffer as the result of unemployment. He was able to show that there are significant relationships among indicators of gross economic change, such as Gross National Product, earnings, and unemployment rates, and indicators of social well-being such as inpatient hospitalization, outpatient care, mortality rates, incidence

of crime, suicide, mental hospitalization rates, domestic violence, and divorce. Increases in unemployment are followed by increases in these types of social problems.

Factors Affecting Participation in Education and Training Programs

There are many factors that could affect the potential participation of displaced workers in adult education and training programs. The following discussion is organized into four areas: the psychological impact of involuntary job loss, career development issues, the motivational basis for participation in adult education and training, and the logistical factors concerning reemployment and retraining of displaced workers.

Psychological Impact of Involuntary Job Loss

Many studies have been conducted to isolate the psychological impacts of involuntary job loss. The consideration in this review is how the psychological impact of involuntary job loss affects displaced workers' participation in adult education and training programs.

Swineburne (1981) studied a group of 20 unemployed male managers. Although the subjects were not typical of blue-collar displaced workers, the author drew several conclusions that are relevant to blue collar displaced workers. She studied the subjects' feelings about becoming unemployed, how they structured their time, and their job

search process. The author employed a semi-structured interview approach. In general, the subjects reacted negatively to becoming unemployed. Swineburne stated that the subjects reported shock, worry, fear, and uncertainty about the future; a loss of sense of purpose, anger, bitterness, and resentment; feelings of being unwanted; shame; loss of status; and loss of self-respect. These responses are listed in order of frequency from most often reported to least often. These reactions were affected by the degree of control the subjects felt they had over their circumstances: the less control individuals felt they had, the more intense were their negative feelings about the experience.

It was also noted in the study that the feeling of loss experienced by subjects was greater if their occupation was more central to their self-concept. All of the subjects in Swineburne's sample recognized the need to be active, but some had greater difficulty than others in maintaining activity. Those who had greater self-direction on the job were able to structure their time better during unemployment.

Hartley (1980) studied unemployed managers with a research design employing both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The author studied 87 unemployed middle- and senior-level managers and 64 employed managers. The quantitative portion of the study measured differences in

self-esteem between the employed and unemployed subjects using a Q-sort questionnaire. No statistically significant differences were found in self-esteem between the two groups in either a cross-sectional or longitudinal analysis. However, several important findings were noted in the qualitative part of the study. Based on interviews the author developed four categories of unemployed subjects regarding their self-esteem. The first category consisted of those subjects who experienced low self-esteem throughout the study. The longer they were unemployed, the more reduction in self-esteem they experienced. Second, some of the subjects showed a defensively high self-esteem indicating that they were denying their difficulties. Third, some experienced intermittent periods of reduced self-esteem. These subjects generally had high self-esteem but experienced periods of difficulty and depression. Fourth, some subjects maintained moderate or high self-esteem throughout their unemployment experience. These findings indicate that the psychological impact of unemployment, especially regarding self-esteem, is more complex than has been reported in other studies. Differences in self-esteem among the subjects indicated that people react differently to involuntary job loss. The application of the findings of this study to displaced workers could indicated that the displaced workers most negatively affected by the job loss would probably be the

least likely to take advantage of education or retaining programs.

It has been noted that involuntary job loss can be a severe source of stress. The degree and type of stress can affect all areas of a person's life. Brenner and Bartell (1983) studied time usage, mental health, and life satisfaction for a sample of 77 unemployed men. Using a statistical technique called Linear Structural Relations (LISREL), they attempted to determine the direction of causality among these three factors. They developed two models depicting the directional relationships among the factors. The two models are displayed in Figure 1. In Model 1 they hypothesized that subjects' perceptions of their time used actively after job loss affected their life satisfaction and both directly and indirectly through life satisfaction affected their general mental health. In Model 2 they hypothesized that mental health affected life satisfaction and both directly and indirectly through life satisfaction affected how the subjects used their time.

Although both models were statistically significant, Model 1 was more strongly supported by the findings of their study. The conclusion which can be drawn from Model 1 is that the ability to reorganize one's life and use time effectively during unemployment can prevent or lessen the impact of mental health problems. The conclusion which can be drawn from Model 2 is that poor psychological adjustment

can prevent effective utilization of time during unemployment.

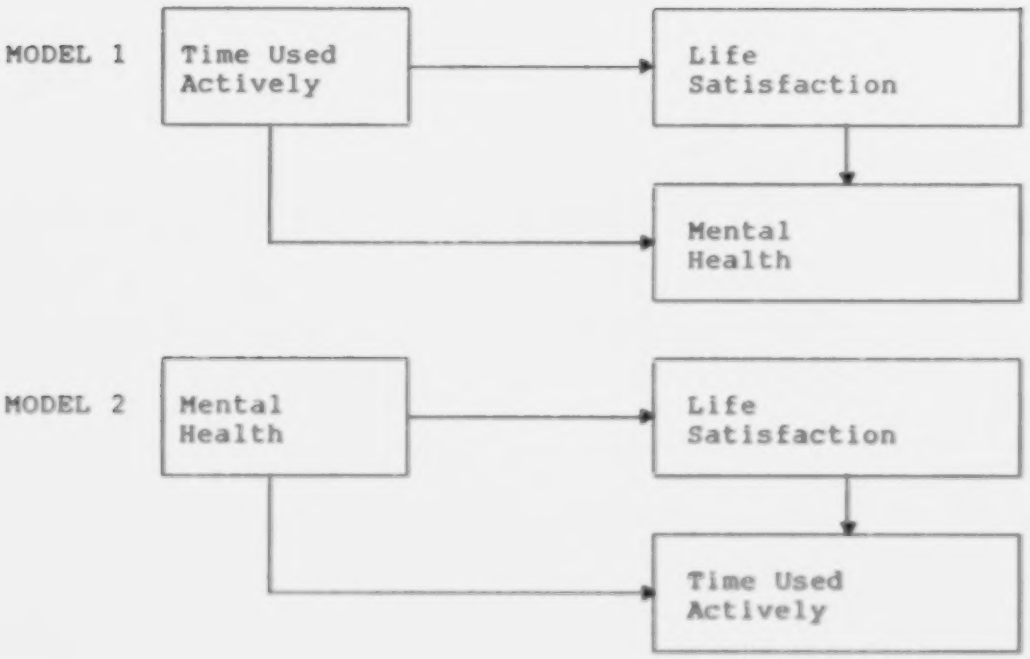

Figure 1: Relationships Among Time Usage, Mental Health, and Life Satisfaction for the Unemployed

There are two implications of this study for retraining programs for displaced workers: 1) some workers will be more effective in utilizing their time during unemployment than others; and 2) proper timing of services is critical. Based on the implications of Model 1, it can be concluded that services offered prior to or concurrent with the layoff are more likely to be effective than those offered at a later time. The sooner displaced workers can become involved in activity, the more likely they are to avoid

ineffective use of their time and any resulting mental health problems. According to Model 2, those individuals who suffer severe negative psychological effects of unemployment are not likely to take advantage of training or other programs.

Schlossberg (1984) stated that adaptation to a major life transition involves the process of moving from a state of pervasiveness, in which the transition is all consuming to the individual, to a state of containment, in which the transition has been confined to a part of the individual's life. Stages of adaptation to loss generally describe a process of development from pervasiveness to containment. Many theories of loss have stemmed from the work of Kubler-Ross (1969). One of her major contributions was to identify the stages experienced by those undergoing loss: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and finally acceptance.

Gordus (1981) adapted Kubler-Ross's stages to job loss. Gordus noted that there is an internal cycle of adaptation which is coupled to an external cycle of events. The internal cycle consists of the stages enumerated by Kubler-Ross and the external cycle is the series of events related to the job loss. Gordus stated that the stages of denial and anger often occur at the time of and shortly after the job loss. Bargaining occurs as the individual or family, attempts to live on a reduced income. Depression

often follows when attempts to gain employment are unsuccessful and the person is faced with exhaustion of unemployment benefits. Acceptance may occur at about the time of reemployment. The timing and intensity of these stages vary from one person to another.

Bakke (1960) described a series of stages of adjustment to unemployment experienced by the whole family: momentum stability, unstable equilibrium, disorganization, experimental readjustment, and permanent readjustment. These stages were derived from observations of families with traditional role relationships in which the male was head of household and the primary wager earner. During the first stage, momentum stability, the pattern of family relationships remains relatively undisturbed. During the second stage, unstable equilibrium, the wife often seeks work. This may lead to conflict in the family if the husband does not approve, is threatened, or does not alter his behavior regarding the domestic work and care of the children. During the third stage, disorganization, the conflicts begun in the previous stage intensify and the family may experience severe problems. This is especially true when the husband is unwilling or unable to find work and does not help at home. The fourth stage, experimental readjustment, is marked by the realignment of family relationships into new roles that are more helpful and positive. Failure to reach this stage may lead to family

break-up as it is not possible to exist as a unit for an extended period of time in the disorganized stage. When the family has adopted stable patterns of relationships the new routines, the final stage of permanent readjustment has been reached.

The degree to which Bakke's stages are applicable will depend on the degree to which family roles are traditional. Families with more traditional structure may be more prone to experience the stages he described. This may result in increased stress and decreased family support for activities such as retraining.

Schlossberg and Leibowitz (1980) identified a number of stages of adaptation to job loss experienced by 53 workers displaced from the Goddard Space Flight Center. They found the following stages: disbelief, sense of betrayal, confusion, anger, and resolution. Disbelief and sense of betrayal were almost simultaneous and were a part of the initial shock of learning about the layoff. As the reality of the situation set in, confusion followed. At this stage many of the subjects did not know what to do or where to turn for help. Confusion was followed by anger for those who did not bring quick resolution to their problems. Resolution was the last stage and occurred as the subjects were able to decide on a course of action.

Jones (1979) discussed strategies to lessen the negative impact of the grief caused by involuntary job loss.

He stated that the degree of grief is determined by two factors: the person's understanding of why the job loss occurred and the effectiveness of the informal support systems available to the person. Effectively managing the grief caused by job loss involves facing the reality of the situation, breaking ties with the previous job, and developing ways to pursue new interests and abilities.

Career Development Factors

Heddesheimer (1976) developed a model to describe various motivations for mid-career change. The model is displayed in Figure 2. She noted that motivation for mid-career change can be initiated by pressures from two sources: from the environment, and from within the person. Examples of pressures from the environment which cause mid-career changes are layoffs, family changes, and social or economic changes. In general these are beyond the control of the individual. Some internal pressures which may cause mid-career changes are the search for satisfaction and changing personal needs linked to adult developmental stages. Each of these sources of pressure can be characterized as being on a continuum from low to high. A person with low pressure from the environment and low pressure from within would have a routine career devoid of career changes. A person with high pressure from the environment and low pressure from within to change careers

would have a situationally determined career change. A self-determined career change comes about as the result of high internal pressure to change but low external pressure for change. Self-directed accommodation career changes result from high pressure from both the environment and within the person.

		PRESSURE FROM WITHIN THE PERSON: LOW	PRESSURE FROM WITHIN THE PERSON: HIGH
PRESSURE FROM THE ENVIRONMENT: LOW		Routine Career (No Career Change)	Self-Determined Career Change
PRESSURE FROM THE ENVIRONMENT: HIGH		Situationally Determined Career Change	Self-Determined Accommodation Career Change

Figure 2: Motivations for Mid-Career Change

Many displaced workers can be characterized as experiencing situationally determined career changes. The workers are often not seeking job or occupational change prior to losing their jobs and, furthermore, they seldom desire job change. Many displaced workers consider the jobs they obtain as the result of reemployment to be less desirable than their previous ones (Haber, Ferman, & Hudson, 1963; and Zahniser, Ashley, & Inks, 1985). Because many

displaced workers enter the career change process unwillingly, they are often ill-prepared for its challenges.

Based on a review of the literature Campbell, Cellini, Shaltry, Long, and Pinkos (1979) identified stages of adult career development and the tasks that are associated with them. The stages of career development are preparation, establishment, maintenance, and retirement. The primary goal of the preparation stage is to prepare for an occupation and to obtain a position in that occupation. Examples of persons who might be in the preparation stage include young people entering the labor force for the first time, older people entering the paid labor force for the first time, people reentering the labor force after a period of absence, or people making occupational and/or industry changes. The major tasks of the preparation stage are assessing oneself and the world of work; making career decisions; implementing career plans; performing adequately in the execution of career plans (e.g., good academic performance while in preparation for a job); and obtaining a position in the chosen occupation.

During the establishment stage the primary goal is to demonstrate one's ability to function effectively in an occupation and organization. The major tasks of this stage are to become oriented to the organization, demonstrate satisfactory position performance, and explore career plans for the future. Individuals in the establishment stage may

be young and just entering the work force. Another group of individuals in the establishment stage are more mature workers who have made mid-career changes or come out of retirement. This second group of workers may not need to relearn work attitudes and values, but usually need to be reoriented to new organizations and learn new job skills.

The maintenance stage is more age-related than the preparation and establishment stages. This stage implies a long-term commitment to an occupation and/or organization and has as its primary goal the maintenance of a desired level of functioning in an established position. The tasks of this stage are to assess oneself in terms of status within one's present occupation, position, and organizational setting; to decide on and implement a master career plan for the future; to adjust to changing personal and organizational events; and to maintain satisfactory position performance.

The retirement stage is usually associated with leaving the work force. The primary goal of this stage is to maximize options in retirement. The general tasks are to decide whether to retire full-time or part-time, explore options for part-time retirement, assess interpersonal relationships, and develop and maintain a retirement plan. Most retirees are in their mid-sixties, but there are increasing numbers at younger and older ages as well.

Mid-career changes generally involve recycling through the preparation stage. This process is graphically displayed in Figure 3: The Mid-Career Change Process. A traditional career, Figure 3-A, typically involves a linear progression through the stages outlined by Campbell, et.al. (1979). A mid-career change, however, usually involves the individual in recycling through the Preparation stage. Displaced workers are usually in the establishment or maintenance stages of career development at the time of job loss. The tasks of the preparation stage may cause additional problems for displaced workers who are not prepared to cope with them.

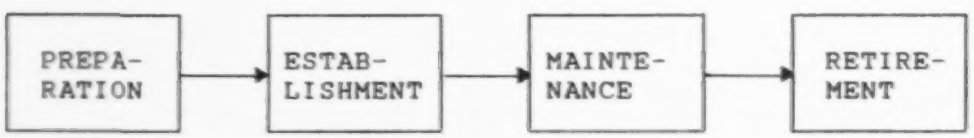

Figure 3-A: Traditional Career Development Stages

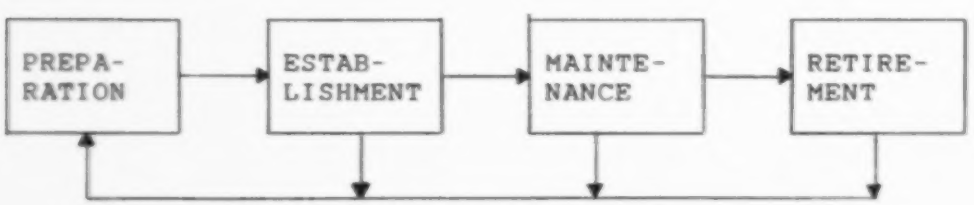

Figure 3-B: Mid Career Change Demonstrating Recycling Through the Preparation Stage

Figure 3: Mid-Career Change Process

Gottfredson (1981) proposed a theory regarding the development of career aspirations. During youth, people develop career aspirations which are based on widely shared images of occupations. As children mature, their career aspirations are tempered by the impact of social class membership and sex-role identification on their self-concept. This process of compromise is guided by three general principles. The first is "Some aspects of self-concept are more central than others and will take priority when compromising occupational goals." The three aspects of self-concept from the least likely to be compromised to the most flexible are sex-role identification, social class membership, and interests and abilities. The second principle of compromise is "Exploration of job options ends with the implementation of a satisfactory choice, not necessarily the optimal choice." The third principle of compromise is "People accommodate psychologically to the choices they make" (p. 572).

These principles have direct implications for displaced workers. Many blue-collar workers, especially those coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds, may have already made compromises regarding their career aspirations. Losing a job after a period of stable employment, especially in a saturated local economy, may force these workers to further compromise their career aspirations. According to

Gottfredson's theory, the most likely aspects of the displaced worker's self-concept to be compromised are interests and abilities.

Gottfredson's principles of compromise are similar to the concept of "satisficing" used by Foltman (1968). He used the terms "maximizing" and "satisficing" to describe the behavior of displaced white- and blue-collar workers respectively. He found that, in general, white-collar workers were more likely to maximize, that is follow their own interests and look for the most advantageous course of action open to them. Blue-collar workers, on the other hand, were more likely to satisfice, that is, they opted for the easiest or most convenient solution to their employment problem.

In terms of Heddesheimer's model, those displaced workers that maximize can be classified as self-directed accommodation career changers, while those that satisfice are situationally determined career changers. Some displaced workers will view their job loss as an opportunity to maximize by pursuing new goals or realizing old goals that had been previously compromised. Other displaced workers will view their job loss as an additional burden and engage in satisficing behavior which will result in further career compromises.

Based on an extensive literature review Latack and Dozier (1985) developed a model depicting career growth

resulting from job loss. Although they reviewed literature related primarily to unemployed managers, some of their findings are relevant to displaced workers. They found that career growth is related to job loss if the person makes the transition to a new job that provides opportunities for psychological success. Second, career growth can result from job loss if the person can be considered to be better off after the ordeal. Latack's (1988) model of career growth from involuntary job loss is graphically depicted in Figure 4. Latack and Dozier identified three sets of factors that influence whether career growth or stagnation results from job loss. These are the characteristics of the individual, environmental characteristics, and the transition process itself. The individual characteristics most likely to be found in individuals experiencing career growth were less satisfaction with the previous job, positioning in the late establishment stage of career development, and ability to maintain a high degree of activity during unemployment. Those more satisfied with their previous jobs were more likely to see the job loss as negative and have suffered greater trauma from the job loss. Those in the early establishment stage viewed the job loss as interrupting the process of establishing independence and proving competence on the job. Those in the maintenance stage saw the job loss negatively because of their age.

Environmental characteristics had an impact on career growth in several ways. Those experiencing more financial deprivation during unemployment were less likely to experience career growth. Positive social support and flexible family structure both contributed to career growth.

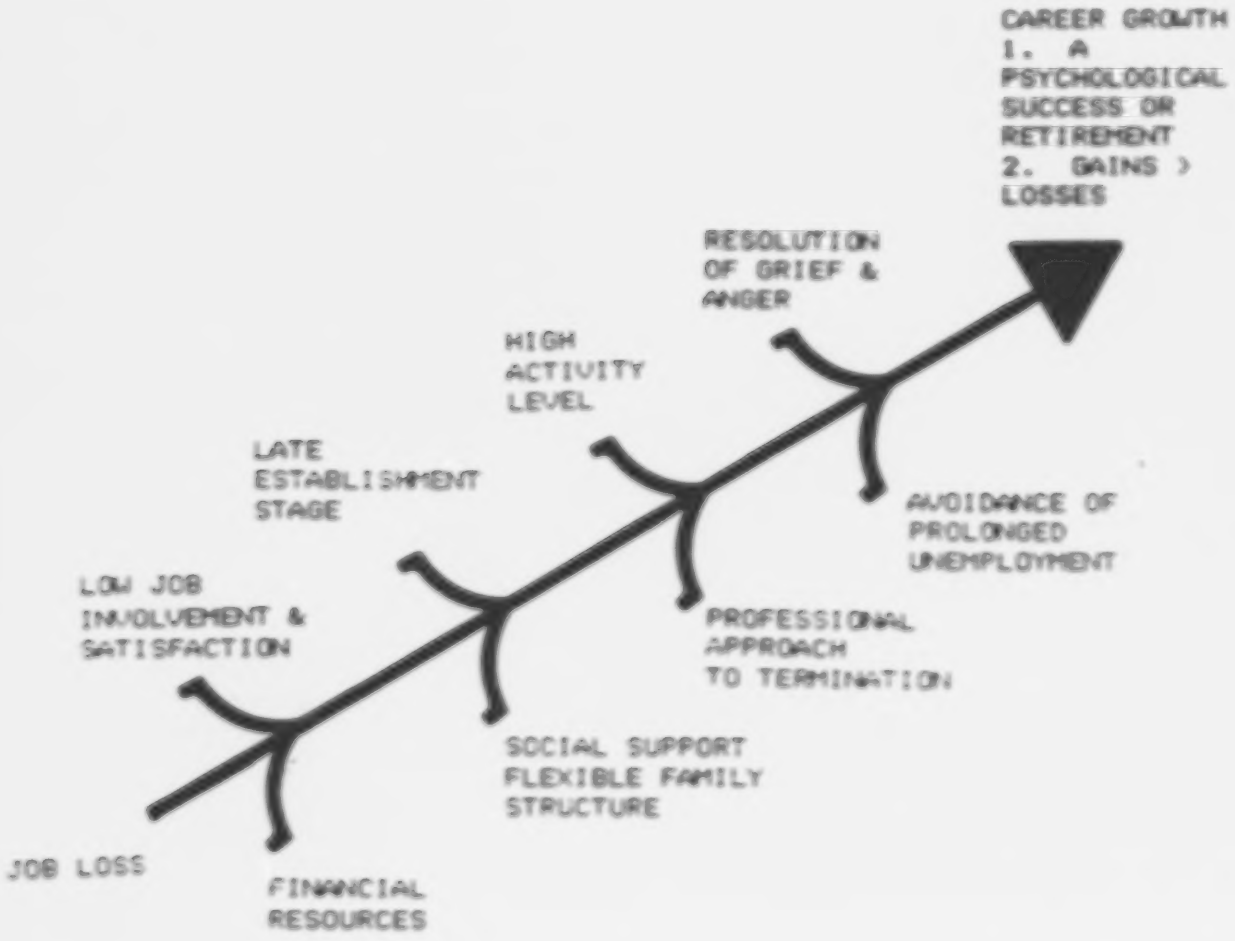

Figure 4: Latack's Model of Career Growth From Involuntary Job Loss

Career growth is also affected by the transition process. The authors referred to the "professionalism" of the termination process. Advance warning, explanations of the reasons for the job loss, and personal approaches to breaking the news to the affected employees are all examples of a professional approach to the termination process which aid career growth. Persons experiencing prolonged and/or intense stages of anger and/or denial were less likely to experience career growth. The longer one is unemployed, the more difficult it may be to reestablish the positive approach to work that is necessary in order to experience career growth from a job loss.

Motivation for Participation in Education and Training Programs

Maslow (1970) proposed a hierarchy of needs consisting of five levels: physiological needs such as food and shelter; safety needs; belongingness and love needs; esteem needs; and self-actualization. He described motivation as a discrepancy between an ideal and real state of being. Motivation at each level of the hierarchy is the need to reduce a discrepancy between the ideal and reality. Discrepancies at lower levels of the hierarchy take precedence over, or preclude a person from attending to, discrepancies at higher levels in the hierarchy. Behavior,

then, is determined, at least in part, by the lowest level of unmet needs a person has.

Based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Boshier (1973, 1977) developed a theory to explain participation in adult education. Boshier stated that the motivation for voluntary participation in adult education can have a deficiency or growth base. Individuals functioning in the upper levels of Maslow's hierarchy have a growth motivation for participation in adult education. Boshier hypothesized that these individuals are continuous learners whose present and future participation in adult education stems from past participation. Deficiency motivation, on the other hand, stems from a need to maintain a basic level functioning on Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Boshier hypothesized that people with a deficiency base for motivation will only participate in adult education when there is an immediate need to do so and they will stop participating when that need has been met. Present and future participation for these persons is not necessarily related to past participation.

The implications of Boshier's theory for displaced workers are that those with a previous history of participation in adult education are more likely to take advantage of educational programs during employment. In addition, those persons who have had more success in school, or those who have a better attitude toward education, are

more likely to participate in training. Those without a history of participation in adult education, with less success in previous education, or with poor attitudes toward education are less likely to take advantage of education and training programs during unemployment.

Several studies have shown that displaced workers with more education find reemployment more easily than those with less education (Haber, Ferman, & Hudson, 1963; and Foltman, 1968). Boggs and Buss (1983) found that displaced workers with less education were more willing to participate in education and training programs. The displaced workers they studied may have participated in training based on deficiency motivation. The extent to which present and future participation in adult education by displaced workers is influenced by previous participation in adult education, success in elementary and secondary schools, and attitude toward education is not clear.

Reemployment and Retraining of Displaced Workers

Displaced workers and their families face many difficulties. The most immediate, and often the most severe, is the loss of income. Barth and Reisner (1981) stated that for the traditional blue-collar worker "family and home ownership ties and a history of working and providing make work an economic and socio-psychological necessity" (p. 6). There are many other ramifications of

involuntary job loss for reemployment and retraining. The issues of reemployment and retraining are linked. Opportunities for reemployment affect interest in and enrollment in training programs and opportunities for training may affect interest in reemployment. The following studies are cited because they explore the relationship between reemployment and participation in educational programs.

Haber, Ferman, and Hudson (1963) conducted a comprehensive review of 18 studies of displaced workers conducted between 1929 and 1961. They were able to draw several generalizations from these studies which are relevant to the current displaced worker population. Their findings are: a) older workers find employment less readily than younger workers; b) skilled workers find employment more easily than less skilled workers; c) less educated workers find reemployment more difficult than more educated workers; d) workers with seniority generally fare no better in finding reemployment than those with less seniority; e) displaced workers are frequently required to make industry and/or occupation changes to find reemployment; f) displaced workers often receive lower wages when reemployed; g) reemployed displaced workers generally consider their new jobs to be less desirable than their old jobs; and h) most displaced workers have strong attachments to their communities and do not wish to relocate.

The authors stated that retraining was not emphasized in the studies they reviewed. In most cases retraining programs were not made available to the displaced workers. Workers who desired training were on their own to locate training and to finance the training. For these reasons the participation rate in retraining programs in the studies they have reviewed was very low.

Foltman (1968) studied the effects of unemployment on 1,400 workers displaced from the Wickwire Spencer Division in Buffalo, New York. His principal area of investigation was the difference between white- and blue-collar workers' responses to the plant shutdown. He hypothesized that white-collar workers would tend to maximize while blue-collar workers would tend to satisfice. Using a combination of close and open questions on a mail questionnaire, Foltman was able to derive conclusions from 486 responses (33% response rate), 72% of which were from blue-collar workers and 28% from white-collar workers.

Older workers of both blue- and white-collars found new employment less readily than younger workers. Older blue-collar workers were more likely than other subjects to have found temporary work. Older white-collar workers were more likely to have suffered downward mobility than younger white-collar workers. Older blue-collar workers were less likely to want permanent jobs in occupations different from

their previous one. Older workers in general were more likely to accept any job available than younger workers.

Foltman also found that the more educated displaced workers had a greater chance of becoming reemployed. Educated white-collar workers were more likely to be reemployed than educated blue-collar workers. The less educated workers, both blue- and white-collar, experienced more downward mobility than the more educated. The trend was greater for blue-collar workers than for white-collar workers. The more educated displaced workers, both blue- and white-collar, were more likely to maintain their previous level of income.

Skilled workers found more job opportunities after job displacement than less skilled workers. Skilled white-collar workers were more successful in finding reemployment than skilled blue-collar workers. White-collar workers were more likely to have found permanent jobs than blue-collar workers. Within the blue-collar ranks the skilled workers were more likely to have found permanent jobs than the unskilled workers.

Other findings of Foltman's were that some displaced workers who found new jobs perceived these jobs as less desirable than their previous jobs. Most of the workers, both blue- and white-collar, received lower pay on their new jobs. Blue-collar workers were less satisfied with their new job responsibilities and working conditions than the

white-collar workers. Blue-collar workers were more likely than white-collar workers to take any job available. Blue-collar displaced workers were strongly attached to their communities and less likely to consider relocation than white collar workers.

Foltman stated that retraining or continuing one's education was not considered a realistic alternative by the displaced workers in his study. Only 5% of the white-collar and 6% of the blue-collar workers saw retraining as a viable option.

An in-depth qualitative study of 40 displaced workers in the northwest part of the country was conducted by Clark and Nelson (1983). Their sample is not necessarily representative of all displaced workers. It consisted of professionals and administrators (n=21); clerical, sales, and technical workers (n=8); skilled labors (n=4); and semi-skilled and unskilled labors (n=7). Participants in the sample had been unemployed from 6 to 18 months from jobs they had held an average of 4.5 years. The subjects' ages ranged from 33 to 61. Twenty of the subjects were male and 24 female.

Four general areas of impact on displaced workers were identified in the study: economic effects, psychological effects, sociological and family effects, and barriers to education and reemployment. Economic and financial concerns were reported as the most serious problems by 60% of the

subjects. Subjects in their 40's were more likely to report this while subjects in their 30's were more likely to be concerned with the psychological effects.

The psychological impact of job loss was significant for most subjects. Eighty percent of the subjects reported personal changes for the worse. Over 40% stated that work was central to their lives and that being out of work had negatively affected their sense of self-worth.

The families of the displaced workers were also affected. One-third of the subjects reported that they believed the experience would have serious long term consequences for their families. However, most subjects (75%) reported receiving emotional support from their families. This study is consistent with other studies which indicate that unemployment is a family experience not just an individual one.

Many barriers to reemployment and further education were identified by the subjects. Barriers to reemployment included lack of money, lack of information and access to information, lack of job search skills, a strong attachment to the previous occupation, inability to identify transferable skills, and age. Barriers to further education were the cost, inconvenient scheduling of classes, lack of information about training, a perceived lack of responsiveness on the part of institutions to individual needs, perceived inability to succeed in training (often

related to age), and strong attachments to previous occupations. Blue-collar subjects were more likely than the white-collar subjects to believe that they could benefit from training and were more likely to view it as a necessity.

Boggs and Buss (1983) studied the educational activities of steel workers laid off from the closing of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. The study was conducted in two phases. In Phase I, 282 steel workers who had been laid off from 6 months to 1 year were interviewed. During Phase II, 155 of the 282 subjects from Phase I were contacted for follow-up interviews one year later. The subjects were divided into four groups; a) those still employed at the steel mill (involved in closing down the works); b) those who had retired from the labor force upon termination form the steel mill; c) those who had been rehired to another full-time job; and d) those who remained unemployed after termination.

Analysis of variance at Phase I revealed that the unemployed group had a higher level of education, were younger, and had lower incomes than the other three groups. Phase II results revealed that only about 9% of the subjects remained unemployed. Many of the workers gave up other jobs to be temporarily reemployed at Youngstown Sheet and Tube. Of the 127 subjects not responding in Phase II, only 15.7% were reported to have left the area in search of work.

The number of steel workers opting for additional education was small despite conditions which would have seemed to favor additional education or training. The authors cited three reasons for the lack of interest in additional education: many workers were able to find jobs elsewhere, there was continued hope that the mill would reopen, and there was reluctance on the part of the steel workers to abandon their previous occupation and way of life.

Several hypotheses were tested in this study. It was found that those subjects who were encouraged to enroll in educational programs were more likely to do so than those who were not encouraged to enroll. Those who had initially indicated interest in enrolling in educational programs were more likely to follow through and enroll than those who did not indicate an interest. Those subjects moving from the area were not as likely to enroll in educational programs. Of those remaining in the area, the subjects rehired into jobs outside the steel industry were most likely to enroll in educational programs. The authors suggested that the security of some income combined with dissatisfaction with the new job led these workers to view education as a viable option. Subjects in the unemployed and rehired groups who had turned down jobs were more likely to have enrolled in educational programs. Older subjects were less likely to

enroll than younger subjects. More educated subjects were less likely to enroll than the less educated subjects.

Zahniser, Ashley, and Inks (1985) interviewed 120 reemployed displaced workers to determine the long term effects of their unemployment experience. Ten field sites in the northeast and midwest sections of the country were selected to conduct the interviews. The subjects were blue-collar workers ranging in age from 30 to 54. Male, female, and minority group members were included. Ten subjects had less than a high school education, 46 had completed high school, 33 had completed some post secondary trade school or community college, 19 had completed some college, and 2 had graduate degrees. All of the subjects in this study had participated in some form of outplacement training or skill training programs designed for displaced workers.

Twenty-eight percent of the subjects had been reemployed in jobs requiring more skill than their previous occupations, 20% were reemployed in jobs requiring less skill, and 52% experienced no change in skill from their previous jobs. Despite the fact that most subjects held their skill level constant or increased it, 72% experienced a decrease in wages.

Many subjects indicated that they had suffered from stress, loss of self-esteem, the need to readjust their relationships with family and friends, and intense financial

problems. The most frequently mentioned source of stress was from financial problems. Other sources of stress included the job search process, loss of self-esteem, dealing with the unemployment insurance system, family changes, and accepting the loss of the former occupation.

The displaced workers sought help from three types of sources. Informal assistance was sought from family, friends, and community groups. This consisted of both intangible types of help such as emotional support and job leads and more tangible types of help such as donations of food and financial assistance. A second type of assistance was government transfer payments such as unemployment insurance, welfare, and food stamps. Third, the displaced workers received help from programs specifically designed to assist the workers. These programs were often funded by the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), the outplacing employer, local government, or labor-management agreements.

Many different types of services were needed by the displaced workers. Some of the services provided by the special programs included skill assessment, self-assessment, career and life planning, labor market orientation, job search skills, and job development. Educational services received included basic skills training, occupational cross training, skill and upgraded skill training, skill enhancement training, and on-the-job training.

Seventy-five percent of the subjects participated in job search and outplacement programs, 20% received formal skill training, and 15% participated in both training and job placement programs. Generally, the subjects were positive about the programs and the help they had received. Subjects who had enrolled in job search classes stated that the primary benefits were the psychological support received and the assistance in coping with a hostile labor market. Subjects who had enrolled in training also indicated that the psychological support was very important to them. Subjects who were reemployed in both training related and nontraining related jobs felt that training was a positive experience. Many reported that they had grown personally and were now using more of their potential as a result of training. They also felt better prepared to face the future.

Some barriers to training were noted by the subjects: lack of financial resources (even when financial assistance was available), lack of information about training, age barriers for certain apprenticeship programs, and lack of training within commuting distance.

A qualitative study by Dean (1987) of displaced workers yielded several findings related to participation in retraining programs. The subjects were 21 male, blue collar workers with families who had been displaced as the result of the closing of a glass production plant. Over 500

workers were displaced in total. There were many factors identified which were associated with participation in JTPA funded training programs. Some of the findings were that displaced workers who chose to participate in education and training programs tended to have more positive attitudes toward being laid-off than the nonparticipants; they tended to have more consistently participated in previous adult education than the nonparticipants; and they tended to have a future orientation while nonparticipants had a past or present orientation. These factors indicated that, in general, displaced workers who chose to participate in training programs were better able to make the psychological adjustment to the loss of their previous job.

Cochran (1985) surveyed 300 blue-collar workers laid off from a General Electric plant in Tiffin, Ohio. The workers had been laid off from 6 to 72 months with an average of 42 months out of work. At the time of the survey, 14% of the subjects were enrolled in adult education programs. They were enrolled in non-vocational adult education, vocational training programs, two year colleges and technical schools, and four year colleges or universities. An additional 51% of the subjects indicated an interest in participating in some form of educational program in the future. Almost all of these subjects indicated they would need some form of financial assistance if they were to do so. The following services were desired

by the subjects: career counseling (36% of the subjects), pre-retirement counseling (8% of the subjects), investment counseling (19% of the subjects), financial management (17% of the subjects), medical counseling and help (13% of the subjects), counseling for coping with stress (19% of the subjects), family counseling (11% of the subjects), and legal counseling (12% of the subjects).

Summary of the Literature Review

Several authors have questioned the utility of retraining displaced workers. Bendick and Devine (1981) stated that the small numbers of displaced workers indicated that they should not receive high priority in the expenditure of scarce federal funds. Foltman (1968) stated that older displaced workers who are likely to be hardest hit by unemployment often have psychological and motivational barriers to retraining. He stated that they also have less education, and therefore, are not likely to be successful in training. He concluded by stating that retraining programs could be devised for older displaced workers "but at a disproportionately high cost, and the investment involved cannot economically be amortized over the short working span remaining to them" (p. 117-118).

Boggs and Buss (1983) noted, however, that "it is generally agreed that retraining of unemployed workers is a sound investment and perhaps even an obligation" (p. 241).

Zahniser, Ashley, and Inks (1985) found a number of benefits of retraining that transcend the specific occupational skill being learned. Some of these benefits included increased self-confidence, renewed faith in education, better preparation for the future, and personal growth and increased satisfaction. These findings suggest that displaced workers can benefit in a number of ways from participation in adult education and training programs.

The forgoing literature review is summarized in the following statements. The psychological factors influencing participation of displaced workers in adult education and training programs are listed below.

1. Based on the studies of Schlossberg and Leibowitz (1980) and Gordus (1981) it can be inferred that the ability of displaced workers to successfully negotiate the stages of adaptation to involuntary job loss, disbelief, sense of betrayal, confusion, and anger will affect their participation in retraining programs.
2. Based on the studies of Brenner and Bartell (1983) and Swineburne (1980) it can be inferred that displaced workers who make more effective use of their time after job loss will be more likely to participate.
3. Based on the study by Hartley (1980) it can be inferred that the ability to maintain a moderate or high degree of self-esteem, or only experience intermittent periods

of reduced self-esteem will facilitate participation in retraining programs.

4. Based on the studies by Bakke (1960), Swineburne (1981), Jones (1979), Zahniser, Ashley, and Inks (1985), and Boggs and Buss (1983) it has been shown that the existence of family, peer, or other informal support systems facilitates participation.
5. Boggs and Buss (1983) demonstrated that receiving encouragement from counselors or other representatives of educational institutions, displaced worker programs, or other community resources facilitated participation.
6. Based on the studies of Bakke (1960) and Latack and Dozier (1985) it is indicated that having a flexible family structure and gender-role identification would support participation.
7. Based on the work of Schlossberg (1984) it is indicated that the ability to move from a state of preoccupation with the job loss, pervasiveness, to a state where emotions are contained, containment, will facilitate participation.
8. The study by Dean (1987) indicated that a future orientation is related to participation in retraining programs.
9. Based on the studies of Jones (1979), Schlossberg (1984), and Latack and Dozier (1985) it is indicated

that having an understanding of the reasons for the plant closing will facilitate participation.

10. Based on the studies of Swineburne (1979) and Schlossberg (1984) it is indicated that those experiencing less trauma as a result of the job loss would be more likely to participate.
11. Based on the study by Swineburne (1981) it is indicated that those who Believe they have control over the situation would be more likely to participate.
12. Based on the work of Jones (1979) it is indicated that those who have been able to break ties with their former job would be more likely to participate.
13. Based on the work of Jones (1979) it is indicated that the ability to develop new interests and/or abilities would facilitate participation.

Following are the career development issues influencing participation of displaced workers in adult education and training programs.

14. Based on the work of Heddesheimer (1976) it is indicated that motivation for career change based on high internal pressures resulting in self-directed accommodation type of career change rather than situationally determined career change would facilitate participation.
15. Based on the study by Foltman (1968) it can be deduced that approaching the tasks and decisions of

unemployment by maximizing behavior rather than satisficing would be an indication of participation.

16. The study of Latack and Dozier (1985) indicated that placement in the career development stage of late establishment rather than preparation, early establishment, or maintenance would facilitate participation.
17. The study by Dean (1987) indicated that a positive attitude toward being laid-off was related to participation in retraining programs.
18. From the work of Gottfredson (1981) it can be inferred that displaced workers with higher career aspirations and less willingness to compromise career decisions would be more likely to participate.
19. Based on the work of Gottfredson (1981) it can be inferred that those with more awareness of the process of career planning, decision making, and compromise in earlier occupational changes, including initial entry into the labor force, would be more likely to participate.

Below are listed the motivational factors influencing participation of displaced workers in adult education and training programs.

20. Based on the work of Gottfredson (1981) it can be inferred that a higher degree of value placed on

education in family in which the worker grew up would facilitate participation.

21. Based on Boshier's (1973, 1977) theory it can be deduced that a growth orientation for participation in adult education would more likely result in participation.

22. Based on Boshier's (1973, 1977) theory it can be deduced that a higher degree of success in previous educational activities would be an indication of participation.

23. Based on Boshier's (1973, 1977) theory it can be inferred that those with more positive attitudes toward previous educational activities would be more likely to participate.

24. The study by Dean (1987) indicated that more consistent participation in previous adult education is related to current participation in retraining programs.

Following are the reemployment and retraining factors affecting participation of displaced workers in adult education and training programs.

25. In the studies of Clark and Nelson (1983) and Zahniser, Ashley, and Inks (1985) it was demonstrated that displaced workers with additional sources of income in the family and/or reduced expenses were more likely to participate.

26. In the studies of Haber, Ferman, and Hudson (1963) and Boggs and Buss (1983) it was shown that displaced workers with lower skill levels were more likely to participate.

27. In the studies of Haber, Ferman, and Hudson (1963) and Boggs and Buss (1983), it was demonstrated that displaced workers who were reemployed and found their new jobs to be less desirable were more likely to participate.

28. In the study by Boggs and Buss (1983) it was shown that those who experienced greater downward mobility (loss of status, skill, or pay) were more likely to participate.

29. In the studies of Clark and Nelson (1983) and Zahniser, Ashley, and Inks (1985) it was shown that displaced workers with more information regarding training programs and community resources were more likely to participate.

30. Boggs and Buss (1983) and Foltman (1963) demonstrated that younger displaced workers were more likely to participate.

31. The study of Boggs and Buss (1983) indicated that the less educated displaced workers were more likely to participate.

32. In the study by Boggs and Buss (1983) it was shown that those who had previously indicated an interest in

education and training programs were more likely to participate.

33. In the study of Clark and Nelson (1983) it was shown that displaced workers who were unemployed and had low prospects for reemployment were more likely to participate.

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